/37 cont./

83. Since, as it appears, the person who asked me this question is one of those who believes in the heavenly paradise which the Indians live in, invented and perpetuated by arm-chair writers, who "have written pretty books to prove to us that the savage is natural man and that we could wish nothing more than to become more like him" (J. de Maistre), I shall not answer him with the well-worn "there is nothing to what has been said," but I shall /38/ say to him, without going into detail, that there is considerable exaggeration in the reports and information given by writers, avid for publicity at any cost, in almost everything that has been said about the robustness, longevity, corpulence, and healthiness of the Indians.

Eyewitnesses will be in agreement with me, and taught by painful experience and vigilance will not to let themselves be surprised by so many dithyrambs, such as are heard about native races, particularly if they have already disappeared. From long distances, long falsehoods.

773 826 84. These Indians, like most peoples of the earth, live looking up to past times, in which (they say), men were strong, corpulent, and even giants. They add, these Indians, for this purpose, the fact that their ancestors were of such extraordinary height that they made inscriptions on the high rocks and plucked fruit with their hands, which today must be picked with the use of ladders and hooks. They further say that their race, principally due to premature matrimonies, is now degenerating in such a way that its descendants will have to use ladders and hooks, or forks, to pick ají, which are but one meter high. This universal tendency, common to individuals and to peoples, has already been observed and satirized by Horace in his famous sentence: "In my opinion, any past time was better," which is attributed to old people.

141 165 This is pure legend; and what is certain is that the Indians are, indeed, not of tall stature nor do they attain any singular longevity.

*192 *197 802 decided ellipsis (literally "one-to" or "one-plus"), and in Kamarakoto with some ellipsis (literally "hand-to one," i.e. "one (added) to a hand"). Almost all Carib dialects form "seven," "eight," and "nine" by substituting "two," "three," and "four," respectively, for "one" in their expression for "six." Note that Kamarakoto is distinctive from the most nearly allied dialects in its manner of expressing all numerals from "five" to "nineteen" inclusive.

7. Seven — eñato-pona tsagaŋɛ.
8. Eight — eñato-pona etseuran.
9. Nine — eñato-pona atsa:kəleñlaˀ-nɛˀ.
10. Ten — eñato-iratoymarə. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) mia tame nauale. Makuchi (Williams) mi-ya tamə-na-wəˀ-rə. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) teknankon (= tekuan + plural suffix). Akawai (de Goeje) mia-raro-mara. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) emia-temere. Kaliña (de Goeje) aña batala (last two a's rounded). Motilón (Jahn) omase. All these words are various ways of expressing the idea of both hands together (i.e. all ten fingers), with the probable exception of the puzzling Ingariko word.
11. Eleven — eñato-iratoimarə-pona taukin.
12. Twenty — taukin pemon. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) teukiːn-le pemon. Makuchi (Williams) ti-win pe-mon-gon (or pu ta-mə-na-wəˀ -ə). (Ingariko not recorded). Akawai (de Goeje) tegina kapon. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) tehui choto. Kalina (de Goeje) ovin kariña. Motilon (Isaacs cited by Jahn) omase-pisa. The Motilon word means "hands and feet." All the others mean "one person," i.e. all the fingers and toes of one person.

## Parts of the Body.

*192 *197 183 826 When spoken disjunctively or in certain non-possessive contexts, the words for parts of the body are followed by the postposition -to. This is dropped when, as usual in connected speech, a possessive prefix is used and in some other combinations. Thus "head" = pupai-to, but "my head" = upupai, "your head" = apapai, "his head" = ipupai, etc. "Nose" = euna-to, but "your nose" = ayeuna, "his nose" = iteuna, etc. In Taurepan this postposition does not appear, and this is true of most allied dialects. It is not, however, unique in Kamarakoto among Carib languages. Thus in Ingariko the suffix -le is used in the same way and there are in Yauarana plain traces of a more fully incorporated postposition assimilated to such forms as -lu, -li, or -te. These same

suffixes, as well as -re, -ri, and -ru appear among numerous other more distantly allied dialects.

13. *Head — pupai-to. Taurepan, (i)pai. Makuchi (Williams) pu-bai. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (u)pai-le. In Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) "their head" = to-pu:pai. This is probably analogous to the case of meta = -nta, see "mouth."
14. Hair (of head) — mutse-to.
15. Hair, a hair, (generally) — chipoi.
16. *Eye —enu-to. Taurepan (k)einn. Makuchi (Williams) e-nu. With slight changes in vowel sounds, this is almost invariable in Carib languages, but rarely the nasal is lost, e.g. (Adam) Opone (i)-eu.
17. *Nose — euna-to. Taurepan (t)euna. Makuchi (Williams) eu-na. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (uy)euna-le.
18. Lips — epi-to.
19. *Mouth — meta-to. Taurepan (e)nta. Makuchi (Williams) "my mouth" = u-nda. "our mouths" (dual) = ana m-ta. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (u)nta-le. Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) matale (-le is probably a postposition as in Ingariko and = Kamarakoto -to).

This word serves to note one of the outstanding peculiarities of Carib languages in general and of Kamarakoto in particular. It is characteristic of many Carib languages that many nouns have combining forms which are longer and more complex than their absolute or disjunctive forms. Thus the commonest forms of the word for "mouth," as in Taurepan, is a recognizable variant of a root -nta-, but in some combinations this becomes a variant of a seemingly distinct root-meta-, as in Taurepan to-mata, their mouths. By comparison of many dialects a theoretical transformation of the type u-meta ("my mouth" in Kamarakoto) — umata — umta — unta ("my mouth" in Taurepan) can be postulated and seems a probable explanation. On this theory, -meta- is the original root, -nta- a reduced form. Here, as in several other cases, Kamarakoto retains the unreduced form where allied dialects have the reduced form.[41] The roots Kamarakoto -puta-, Taurepan -ta-, (= "foot," see below) give another example and several others occur in these languages.

20. *Ear — pana-to. Taurepan, pana. Makuchi (Williams) pana. The root pana with little change is present in most dialects, but note the following: Maquiritare (Adams) (i)-hanna-ri. Bakairi (Adams) uana-ta. Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) yana:li (here -li is probably a postposition like Kamarakoto -to).
21. Neck (front) — pũimõi-to.
22. Neck (back) — pũimõi-yepa-to.

[41] [see footnote on p. 310, category 11B — Analyst]

*192 23. Chest — puleupu-to.
*197 24. *Arm — emekun-to. Taurepan (t)eumukun. Makuchi (Williams) eme-kun.
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[194] 25. *Hand — enya-to. Taurepan ["(his) hand"] (it)ena. (it)e:nya. In these words the y is distinct and semi-fricative. ny not equivalent to ñ. In other dialects (cf. Adam) it sometimes becomes a stop, d, and sometimes an affricative, e.g. tz. In still others, e.g. Maquiritare, it is lost and the nasal becomes bilabial, amo, amu, etc.

Fingers — Informants apparently did not know any word for "finger" in general,[42] but gave the following names for the individual fingers:

26. Thumb — yun
27. 2 — imboron
28. 3 — imboron-mareō-imboron
29. 4 — yami-nawarən
30. 5 — yami'
31. Belly — rota-to
32. Buttock — aung:pun-to

Leg — There appears to be no word for the leg as a whole.

33. *Thigh — ɛmata-to. Taurepan (t)eumøta. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (uy)ɛmata-le.
34. *Shank — pietsi-to. Taurepan (i)ichi. Makuchi (Williams) (u)ji (j as in English "judge"). "our legs" - ana pi-chi-kon.[43]
[193] 35. Foot — puta-to. Taurepan (i)ta. Makuchi (Williams) bu. bu (or, more generally, pu) and puta are different roots and ta is a reduced form of the latter. Thus Adam gives forms of both within a single language, Makuchi, (u)pu [= bu of Williams] and -ta-. According to Williams, the latter means "heel." Generally they do not occur in one dialect and puta, cognate with ta, certainly means the whole foot and not "heel" alone in Kamarakoto. Apparently this is an example of two roots originally different that have come to have essentially the same meaning, with the resultant loss of one or the other in most dialects. A fuller form of the root puta survives in some Taurepan compounds, e.g. (Koch-Grünberg) "deer hoof" = waikinpøta -pipø, in which pøta = puta of Kamarakoto and ta disjunctive in Taurepan. Adam also gives intermediate dialect forms like pta and htah showing the reduction and loss of the first syllable.
36. Toes — Same words as for fingers, prefixed by putato — if necessary to distinguish.

42, 43 [see footnotes on pp. 310-311, category 116 - Analyst]

37. Bone — yeupu, yeupə.

## Persons and Relationships.

38. *Man, male — warato. Taurepan kuray. Makuchi (Williams) waratho (th as in English "thin"). Yauarana (Koch-Grünberg) ware(ch)tokuma (ch as in German "nicht"). Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) ura:uo. Purokoto (Koch-Grünberg) walaito. Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) toto. Chaima (Adam) guarayto.[44] Cumanagoto (Adam) huarazo.[44] Akawai (Adam) waraio. Bakairi (Adam) uguroto. Except for Taurepan and Wayumara these are all evident variations of a root which, as often occurs, is seen in relatively pure or strong form in Kamarakoto. The marked difference of the Taurepan word from those of all the surrounding tribes is peculiar and it is significant that Kamarakoto does not share this peculiarity. There is, as Adam shows, another series of words for "man," variants of a root form more or less represented by o-kiri, occurring at least in Ouayana, Galibi, Bonari, Palmella, Caribi, ("true") Carib, Trio, and Cariniaco, — languages less closely allied to Taurepan than are most of those cited above as using variants of warato. It is just possible that the Taurepan word belongs to this series, but it is not probable.[45]

39. *Woman, female — wari. Taurepan wori.

40. *Person (Indian) — pemon. Taurepan pemon.

41. Bad or wild Indian — arbaton pemon.

42. Race, tribe, people — -koto. Although worthy of listing as a separate verbal form, this was encountered only as a suffix applied to a tribal or regional name, e.g. Kamarakoto, which means "the Kamara people" or "people of Kama[a] rata[a]" (-ta means "place").

43. Child, offspring (also of animals) — murə.

44. Older person — uyadetə.

45. Younger person — yamipə.

46. Chief, cacique — teburu, tepuru.

47. Subchief — tepuru-ɛsi-yakon

48. Head of household or village — to -esa . This word is peculiar in that the sibilant is partly voiced, nearly z, which is rare in Kamarakoto and may possibly indicate an aberrant member of the y- rather than of the s- phoneme.

44, 45 [see footnotes on p.311, category 11b – Analyst]

194 36. The words Kamarata = "Camarata" and Kamarakoto = "Camaracoto" may be written without accents since their penultimate vowels, although less stressed, are about as prominent as the ultimate.

37. An apparent exception is the place (mountain) name Ser-tapui, but here the ser is not really a separate word and -rt- is one of the regular consonant successions, r + stop. Attempts to say ser out of context generally produced se. I do not know how the form Ser-tapui can have arisen. One other place name, Atabar, ends in -r, but in this case there is Spanish influence.

38. There is no obvious reason for this and it may well occur rarely. Non-diphthongal terminal -i is frequently followed by -n.

192 39. A full list including all these forms and variants for any one Carib
114 dialect might have five thousand entries, more or less. No such list has ever been published. Williams' excellent Makuchi vocabulary (which omits such variants) has 1,234 confirmed entries and 468 others representing variants or additional words from previous vocabularies. Adam compares 329 widespread Carib root words and de Goeje 559, mostly different from those of Adam. Koch-Grünberg's remarkably full Taurepán vocabulary has about 1,500 root words and at least as many more compounds inflected forms, etc. Father Cesareo estimates (personal communication) that his manuscript dictionary of this dialect has more or less 4,000 entries, which I presume includes compounds, etc.

It is well known that casual observers almost invariably underestimate the number of words in a foreign language, or even in their own. A fellow-traveler in Kamarata who had made a small collection of Kamarakoto words assured me that the language did not have over 150 in all! The Kamarakotos may be assumed to have a word for every object and every activity of their daily life. The language is poorer than Indo-European languages only to the extent that their environment and activities are less varied.

802 40. Farabee even implies that his Urukuenas, and perhaps also his
114 Kumayenas, had no number words at all except one that meant any number.

193 41. But the reduced form probably does occur in Kamarakoto, cf. endana, "eat," in which the -nda- is probably this root. This may cast some doubt on my view as to the process here involved but is not, I think definitely opposed to it.

192 42. Probably there really is no such word — an interesting example of
197 the relative lack of general categories in the language. Williams' excellent
826

192 and full Makuchi vocabulary has no such word and the Taurepán word given by
197 Koch-Grünberg smacks of improvisation because it means simply "hand-bone."
826

194 43. This is a somewhat puzzling case that I cannot fully elucidate.
197 The root chi (or che, etc.) is widespread as is also a root pieti (or piti, pet, pe, etc.), with the same or analogous meanings. It is not clear whether there are two roots which in forms like pietsi have become confused and amalgamated, whether pi- is a prefix sometimes dropped and ti, etc., a mere variant of chi, etc., or whether the full original form was something like pietsi, pichi, and it has been condensed to chi, etc., in some combinations and in some languages. In analogy with cases like putaʉta (next word in this list), I incline to the latter view.

104 44. These are evidently vernacular Spanish transcriptions and gu-, hu-,
192 are to be read w- and z probably as in Castilian.

192 45. Adam supposes o-kiri to be a variant of the root meaning "membrum
197 virile," usually represented by words more or less near auke. The shift of meaning is plausible (cf. Ingariko in which yun "father" in almost all other dialects, means "membrum virile"), but one could wish for a little clearer evidence that it really occurred.

114 46. Koch-Grünberg, usually so careful, has confused and inadequately
601 defined these words in Taurepán. He gives murɛ, with variants, for "kind,"
197 "knabe," and "sohn," and under this as a root word he gives various combined forms of lumɛ: (= -r-mɛ) as if they were variants of murɛ. In a later vocabulary he gives (u)mɔlɛ (= murɛ) as Ingariko and unlɛ (= -nrɛ) as the synonymous Arekuna for "kind" (child). Here again he is accidentally equating two distinct roots with specialized and different meanings.

47. Rather surely only a woman's mother-in-law. Koch-Grünberg seems not to have emphasized sufficiently the men and women generally use different relationship words.

226 48. This ʌ[1] is the principal fish-poison, but there are others.

192 49. Koch-Grünberg gives a Taurepán word wopa, but this is cognate
197 with Kamarakoto ɔapa not with the quite distinct word wapa.

104 50. hu- and gu- in these words is doubtless to be pronounced w-.
192

* [i.e. inɛ? — Analyst]